THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN GEORGIA

BY

LYNWOOD MATHIS HOLLAND

A.B., Emory University, 1932

A.M., Emory University, 1933

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, 1945

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Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to present the history of the direct primary and its operation in Georgia. Although a history of the primary as it was used by the Republicans in one county from 1920-1932 is included, the study of the direct primary in Georgia is largely a study of the Democratic practices.

Sources of Information

The chief sources of information for the study have been the state official and statistical registers, which have been printed since 1923, state laws, house and senate journals, and court decisions, together with the rules and regulations of the state Democratic executive committee which have been printed since 1920. The lack of any records of party minutes, early primary returns, and copies of the rules and regulations of the Democratic party prior to 1920 necessitated the use of various county official papers[1] and leading state papers, as the *Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta Journal,* and *Macon Telegraph,* together with special files of the *Savannah Morning News, Augusta Chronicle, Columbus Enquirer,* and *Albany News.* As far as practicable the data secured from these various sources have been supplemented by information obtained through personal interviews with state and local party officials and leading politicians of the state. Numerous unofficial sources have also been used particularly for information with respect to historical development of the primary and primary campaigns.[2]

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[1] County papers in Georgia which announces the official business of the various county offices are called county official papers. The leading county papers examined were *Americus Times Recorder, Athens Southern Watchman, Blue Ridge Summit-Post, Cartersville Standard and Express, Dawson News, Fitzgerald Enterprise, Thomasville Southern Enterprise, Valdosta Times.*

[2] Walter G. Cooper, *The Story of Georgia* (New York, 1938); E. M. Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1938); Mrs. W. H. Felton, *My Memoirs of Georgia Politics* (Atlanta, 1911); Clark Howell, *History of Georgia* (Chicago, 1906); Amanda Johnson, *Georgia as a Colony and State,* 1733-1937 (Atlanta, 1938); Lucian L. Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians* (Chicago, 1917); C. B. Gosnell, *Government and Politcs of Georgia* (New York, 1936).

The Democratic and Republican parties in Georgia arose out of the fight over the radical program of reconstruction following the Civil War. Georgians who opposed the radicals and their use of the Negroes to maintain themselves in power united together in the loosely organized Democratic party. The enfranchisement of the Negro and the dictatorial policy of the Republican Governor Rufus B. Bullock in attempting to keep himself in power drove many Georgians, who at first supported the Republicans, into the Democratic organization. Thus the power of the Republican party to maintain itself as an active organization within the state was also destroyed. Georgians despised carpetbaggers, and they had become disgusted with Bullockism. Adversity and the fear of Negro domination caused them to forget their fromer differences and to subordinate all their political beliefs and convictions by uniting and voting against a common enemy.[3] The chief plank for this loosely organized party was the maintenance of white supremacy, for the anathema which should have fallen upon Bullock and his supporters unfortunately fell upon the freedmen who had been used by the Republicans to keep themselves in power.

The Democrats gained full control of the state government in January, 1872; but the power fell into the hands of a group of industrial leaders who were able to see the advantages of keeping a one-party system and of holding the memory of reconstruction with its concomitant fear of Negro and Republican control always before the people when there was a danger of a possible split. Thus, by appealing to white supremacy and the glory of the Confederate flag, a group of Confederate leaders were able to dominate the state government of Georgia and keep themselves in power from 1872 to 1900. During most of this period the highest offices of the state were passed around among

[3] C. Mildren Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia, Economic, Social, Political,* 1865-1872, New York, 1915), 199-273; Edwin C. Woolley, *The Reconstruction of Georgia,* 47-110; I. W. Avery, *History of Georgia,* 1850-1881, (New York, 1881), 369-500. H. J. Pearce, Jr., *Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1928), 172-238; Louise B. Hill, *Joseph E. Brown and The Confederacy,* (Chapel Hill, 1939), 266-90.

Joseph E. Brown, General John B. Gordon, and Alfred H. Cloquitt, the triumvirate which dominated the Democratic party.[4] Their chief interest seemed to have been not that of the state but the furtherance of their business interst by keeping themselves in power. As soon as anyone opposed them there rose the cry of white supremacy and the waving of the "bloody shirt" as well as the accusation that someone was trying to destroy the party which had saved the state from Negro and carpetbag control.

The loose political organization of the Democratic party in Georgia carried within itself the germs of insurgency and independency.[6] By 1874 there was opposition to Democratic control in the Seventh Congressional District under the leadership of Dr. William H. Felton who as an independent opposed the methods used by the leaders of the Democratic party to keep themselves in power. His chief criticism was against the use of the convention method of nomination which ignored the wishes of the people and concentrated too much power in the hands of the political leaders.[6] The independent movement spread rapidly to other sections of the state, but it was bitterly denounced by the Democratic leaders as a movement instigated by the Republicans to split the Democratic party, and it resulted temporarily in increasing the strength of the leaders over the party. However, the opposition to the courthouse rule continued in several counties in the state, and in Bartow and Fulton counties it resulted in the substitution of primaries for the convention method of nominating county officials.[7] By 1882 the primary had become so widely used throughout the state that it was recognized by the Democratic state committee which recommended to the various county committees the election of their delegates to the state convention by conventions or primaries.[8] The primary as a method of nomination first became

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[4] Mrs. W. H. Felton, *My Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 5-7; A. M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1922), 21-29; C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938), 14-53.

[5] E. M. Coulter, *A History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 365.

[6] Felton, 5-10; Cartersville *Standard and Express*, July 6, 1874.

[7] *Daily Constitution*, July 19, 1874; Cartersville *Standard and Express*, July 22, 1874.

[8] *Atlanta Constitution*, May 19, 1882.

a political issue in the gubernatorial campaign of 1886 between General John B. Gordon and Major A. O. Bacon. Henry W. Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* opposed Bacon, who through his friends had organized his campaign entirely around the convention system, and adroitly called upon the people to employ the primary instead of the convention to select delegates to the state convention. Grady's efforts were not in vain, for approximately half of the counties of the state used the primary that year in electing delegates to the convention which nominated Gordon.[9]

In 1887 the first legal recognition was given the primary by the general assembly in an act to prevent the sale of liquor at elections. The primary was defined in the act to mean election by ballot for the nomination of candidates as opposed to nomination by convention.[10] Four years later in 1891, the Democratic authorities accorded statewide recognition to the primary when the state committee expressed a desire for its use instead of the convention for nominating county officers.[11] These local primaries continued to be voluntary, and to be held mainly under party rules. The county committees still had the right to choose whether to use this method of nomination, and if so to make the necessary rules and regulations.

In 1891 the general assembly passed the first law which prescribed in detail the manner by which primaries should be conducted, but it continued them as optional with parties.[12] The following year the state Democratic committee again recommended that the primary be used by the county committees in selecting delegates to the state convention as well as in nominating county officials.[13] Nevertheless the primary remained optional and local in character until 1898 when it became for the first time statewide, and was used in nominating candidates for governor and other state officials. Rules and regulations for conducting the statewide primary were made by the state

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[9] *Macon Telegraph,* May 10-25, 1886; *Albany News,* May 18, 1886. L. L. Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia,* II, 940.
[10] *Georgia Laws,* 1887, 42.
[11] *Atlanta Constitution,* March 30, 1898.
[12] *Georgia Laws,* 1890-91, 210.
[13] *Atlanta Constitution,* March 3, 1892.

committee, and this procedure has been followed thereafter in each primary. The first statewide rules of 1898 were general and relied upon the county committees to fill in the necessary details. Qualifications for voting in the primary were prescribed by the local committees but if they failed to do so the state committee urged that primary voters should be required to be Democrats and should be pledged to support the party nominees.[14]

The Democratic party organization in Georgia is similar to that of the National Democratic organization. At the head of the organization is the state convention which meets every four years after the gubernatorial primary.[15] Delegates are chosen from each of the 159 counties of the state on the county unit basis. This means that each county has twice as many delegates as it has representation in the lower house of the general assembly. Since the colonial period, the county as an area rather than population has been the basis of representation in Georgia, but it was not until the ratification in Georgia of the Constitution of 1868 that the 3-2-1[16] plan became an integral part of the nominating system. This plan was the basis of representation for the lower house and was retained in the Constitution of 1877.[17] Only the number of counties in the three classes has been changed today with eight counties having three representatives each, thirty with two each, and 121 with one each;[18] thus making the total membership in the lower house 205 and the total county unit vote of the state 410. One of the functions of the convention is to frame the platform which is usually a

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[14] *Atlanta Constitution,* March 18, 1898.

[15] Information received from J. Lon Duckworth, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee in a letter of March 19, 1945. Prior to 1944 the convention met biennially because the term of office for state officials was not extended to four years until 1942. *Georgia Laws,* 1941, 86.

[16] So called by Georgians because the six most popular counties were each given three representativs, the thirty-one next in population two each, and the remainder one each. *Georgia Constitution,* 1868, Art. IV, Sect. III, Par. 1.

[17] *Georgia Constitution,* 1877, Art. III, Sec. III, Par. 1.

[18] *Georgia Laws,* 1941, 320. Under this system in the 1942 gubernatorial primary, the eight most populous counties with forty-eight county unit votes cast a total popular vote of 76,662; the next thirty with 120 county unit votes cast 75,696 popular votes; and the 121 counties with 242 county unit votes cast 150,793.

reiteration of the principles advocated in the campaign by the successful gubernatorial candidate and his friends. In addition it formally confirms all nominations for state house offices, governor, judges of the supreme court and court of appeals, and United States Senator. Unless there is a contest no formal vote is taken on each candidate, for a slate of all the candidates is made at the preconvention caucus of the leading friends of the successful gubernatorial candidate. The convention acts as a final authority in contested nominations, approves and frequently recommends changes in the rules and regulations, and elects the officers[19] of the state Democratic committee.[20]

Next to the covention is the state Democratic committee which is composed of 127 members: sixty usually selected by a caucus of the district delegates at the state convention,[21] an additional sixty appointed by the chairman of the state committee from the state at large, and the seven officers of the state committee. The continuous governing body of the Democratic party in Georgia is the state committee with complete power to make any and all rules and regulations necessary for the conduct of the presidential and state primaries, and to fix entry fees for candidates for president, state house officers, congressmen, and United States Senators. In addition it hears all contest for these offices, although these contests may be appealed to the convention for final authority. The state committee has only one permanent subcommittee called the "primary subcommittee," with membership restricted to the seven state officers. This committee handles all details of the primary.[22]

In each of the ten congressional districts of the state there is a congressional committee whose members are selected by the

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[19] These are chairman, executive vice-chairman, two other vice-chairmen, secretary, assistant secretary, and treasurer.

[20] *Atlanta Journal*, October 7, 1942. The officers are selected in a preconvention caucus by the friends and supporters of the gubernatorial candidate and confirmed by the state convention. In 1942 to prevent any of the Talmadge supporters from being nominated, the candidates were nominated from the floor. *Atlanta Constitution*, October 8, 1942.

[21] Rules and Regulations of the State Democratic Executive Committee, 1942. Since these are all friends and supporters of the governor, he usually controls the committee.

[22] Rules and Regulations of the State Committee, 1944. The state officials are never selected as officrs of the state committee.

congressional district convention, consisting of delegates chosen on the county unit basis from every county in the district. Any candidate for congress receiving a plurality of popular votes in a county during the primary appoints the delegates from that county. Although the assessments and qualifications for congressional candidates are made by the state committee, the chief function of the congressional committee is to determine whether the county unit or popular vote shall be used in nominating candidates for congress, and to make the rules and regulations governing the primaries.[23] Similarly in each of the fifty-two state senatorial districts is a committee composed of members selected by delegates from the counties at the state senatorial convention. The successful nominee for the state senate names the delegates on the county unit basis. These committees make rules and regulations and fix the entry fees for candidates as they deem it necessary in the state senatorial primaries.[24]

Each of the 159 counties in Georgia has a county committee consisting of at least one representative from each militia district and each city ward, selected at the county primary. They are required to be *bona fide* Democratic electors who will agree to support the Democratic nominees in both state and national elections. So long as the rules are not inconsistent with those made by the state committee, each county committee has the authority to make the rules and regulations governing the county primary, fix the assessments and qualifications of candidates for all county elective offices and the lower house of the general assembly. In addition it decides contested elections, which may be appealed to the state committee, selects the polling places, prepares the official ballot, chooses the managers and clerks at the polls, and canvasses and declares the results of the primary returns for national, state and county nominations. A very important function of the county committee is to select delegates and alternates to the state convention on the county unit basis from the friends and supporters of the successful gubernatorial candidate in the county.[25]

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[23] Rules and Regulations of the State Committee, 1944.
[24] *Ibid.;* C. B. Gosnell, *Government and Politics in Georgia,* 168.
[25] Rules and Regulations of State Committee, 1942.

Each city in the state has an executive committee consisting of at least one member from each ward,[26] who is selected at the primary. This committee virtually dominates the city primary for it fixes the dates, qualifications, and assessments, selects the polling places and the managers, prepares the official ballot, and canvasses and declares the results of the returns from the voting precincts. Although any contest may be appealed to the state committee, the city committee can decide contests which arise from city nominations.[27]

Beginning in 1900 the state committee in formulating the rules and regulations for the statewide primaries gradually included more detailed provisions. Although the Negro had never participated in the primaries, the state committee provided expressly that only whites might participate, not so much to exclude the Negro as to flatter the poorer white by giving him a badge of superiority.[28] Interest in the primary was further aroused by the Populist movement which also unfortunately arrayed the rural sections of the state against the urban and engendered a feeling of distrust between farmers and city people, all of which strengthened the county unit system. The primary campaigns in Georgia were a fight between factions within the Democratic party which frequently sank to the lowest ebb of vilifying personalities. The campaign appeals were made to the rural sections which under the county unit system had the control in the state convention.

More and more the primary became the real election in Georgia, for the existence of a one-party system made the primary nominations tantamount to an election. Hence governors began to urge a more stringent regulation of the primary in order to guarantee and safeguard it from the control of factional leaders. After repeated urging by the governors,[29] the general assembly passed an act in 1908 which regulated the primary more completely than ever before. It prescribed that all statewide primaries should be held on the same day.[30] The popularity of

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[26] The larger cities have increased this to two or more.
[27] Rules and Regulations of State Committee, 1944.
[28] *Atlanta Constitution,* March 17, 1900.
[29] *Georgia House Journal,* 1905, 111; 1906, 29; 1908, 17.
[30] *Georgia Laws,* 1908, 55.

the primary system increased throughout the state and laws were regularly enacted to regulate its operation particularly in cities and counties. Meanwhile the state committee adopted more comprehensive rules to govern the primary by outlining in detail the duties of the county committees, explaining that the purpose of the primary was to determine the will of the members of the party in the counties as to candidates and party policies. By 1917 the rules had been developed to provide for fixed assessments and a time limit for contested elections.[31]

The third major law for regulating certain features of the primary was the Neill Law of 1917 which gave legal sanction to the county unit plan of representation. All candidates for state offices except those for governor and United States Senator, who received a plurality of the county unit votes in the state became the nominee of the party. The candidates for governor and United States Senator, however, were required to receive a majority of county unit votes, and a second or run-off primary was provided between the two highest candidates if no one received such a majority. If candidates tied in popular votes in a county, the county unit votes were split, and if two candidates other than those for governor and United States Senator tied in county unit votes in the state, the candidate with the highest popular vote became the nominee. The Neill Act also provided for the meeting of the state convention fifteen days after the date of the run-off primary. No definite unit of selection was required by the act in nominating candidates for congress, judges of the supreme court, solicitors general, and members of the general assembly, except that the primary was to be held on the same day as that for state officers.[32]

The primary had become so well established by 1920 that the general assembly at almost every session thereafter enacted local primary laws for either counties or cities. Special efforts were also made to add further legislative regulation to the original optional law by specifying the conditions for counting the ballots, extending the penal laws relating to illegal practice

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[31] Rules and Regulations of State Committee, 1908-1917.
[32] *Georgia Laws*, 1917, 183.

in general elections, providing a recount for contested nominations, and limiting the campaign expenses in nominations.[33]

In 1920 the primary was even used by a county which had voted Republican in every presidential election since 1880. This was Fannin County located on the border line of Georgia and Tennessee. Its inhabitants were never slave owners and did not take an active part in the Civil War. Historically the people were rural mountain inhabitants with little interest in common with the rest of the state, and they felt that the only protection which had been given them from marauding gangs during the reconstruction was not the state but the National Government. Therefore they turned toward the Republican party which was their benefactor rather than toward the Democratic party of the state with which they had little sympathy. Since the Democrats have always been a minority in the county, the Republicans have never had to worry seriously over county elections which they have dominated even to the extent of electing Republicans state representatives.[34]

Fanning County Republicans held white primaries from 1920 through 1932, and the rules and regulations for governing them were practically the same as those of the Democratic party in the county. These primaries were very popular, and several county nominations were closely contested. The primaries, however, were discontinued by the Republicans after 1932 because the defeated candidates in the primaries would join with the Democrats in the general election to defeat the successful candidate of the primary. Thereafter the county nominations were made at mass meetings of the Republican party.[35]

Meanwhile the state Democratic committee had attempted to adjust the rules and regulations to the laws which had been enacted and to the conditions which had developed within the party and the state. Too frequently the rules were merely the recapitluation of those previously adopted, and the meeting of the committee merely became a routine biennial procedure. Most

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[33] *Georgia Laws*, 1939, 309; 1941, 324; 1943, 441.

[34] Interview with Ordinary R. T. Stiles of Fannin County, a Republican official who has held office for more than thirty years. *Official and Statistical Register of Georgia*, 1923-1943.

[35] *Blue Ridge Summit-Post*, 1924-1933; *Atlanta Journal*, August 20, 1944.

of the changes made were at the insistence of the governor, and these were often included to embarrass his opponents. Especially was this true of Governor Talmadge who used the rules and regulations to punish his former supporters or to make it difficult for his opponents to qualify for a primary.[36]

The operation of the primary in Georgia is best shown in certain gubernatorial and Senatorial primary campaigns. The one-party system has resulted ignoring national issues in the campaign and conducting the campaigns strictly on state needs and problems or on personalities. Prior to 1932 an earnest effort was made on the part of the governors and members of the general assembly to remedy some of the major problems of the state in education, highway construction, finance and reorganization of the state government by consolidating and in eliminating various state departments and thereby reducing duplication and inefficiency as well as expense in state government. Beginning in 1932, however, these state issues definitely became a political football for certain factions to play upon for the purpose of gaining control of the party machinery and state patronage, to fulfill personal ambitions rather than to promote the welfare of the state. Although the white primary was referred to as Democratic, the name of the party was used as a sort of shibboleth. Officers were not chosen because they were Democrats, though they could not run unless they claimed to be members of that party, but were mainly chosen on the basis of personal favoritism and their appeal to certain constituencies. The campaigns became the epitome of the basest mud slinging epithets and defamation of character to be surpassed only in demagogic appeal by the clarion cry of the reconstruction period—"white supremacy"! The primary campaigns were frequently characterized by the large number of candidates resulting in three run-off primaries for governor.[37]

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[36] Ex-Governor Talmadge influenced the state committee in 1942 to include in the rules and regulations that a state official had to resign before seeking a new post. He was charged with including it to prevent Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder from running for the United States Senate against Senator Richard Russell, *Macon Telegram*, June-July, 1942; *Atlanta Journal*, June-July, 1942; Rules and Regulations of the State Committee, 1942.

[37] *Official and Statistical Register of Georgia*, 1923-1943.

The gubernatorial primary of 1942 marked the lowest ebb of infamy and appeal to racial prejudice in the state for many years. This resulted from Governor Talmadge's accusation and farcical removal of two prominent educators of the University System whom he accused of advocating racial equality. When the colleges of the University System were dropped from the leading accrediting associations for political interference, the students immediately organized to oust Talmadge in the primary. Despite the efforts of Talmadge and his friends to get a third candidate, the gubernatorial race was between Governor Talmadge and Attorney General Ellis Arnall, in which the latter was the successful candidate by receiving 216 county unit votes and 174,757 popular votes to Talmadge's 149 county unit votes and 128,394 popular votes.[38]

In the 1944 primary the chief question was whether the Negroes would be allowed to vote because of the United States Supreme Court decision in *Smith* vs. *Allwright*.[39] The state committee and its chairman ruled that the primary would be restricted to white electors because in Georgia it was purely a party function, financed and conducted entirely by the party. After thoughtful deliberation the opinion of Georgians was that the best interest of both races could be maintained by working out together a plan acceptable to both, which would prevent disturbances and excitement at the polls during the primary. The plan agreed upon throughout the state was for a few Negro leaders to go to their proper precincts and ask permission to vote. Since all committees accepted the rule that it was to be a white primary and therefore restricted to white electors, the Negroes would be politely refused; then they would withdraw so that the record would be complete for such legal action as the Negroes might find possible or desirable. This plan was followed throughout the state and there was not any disturbance.[40] A majority of the Negro leaders were uncertain as to their next step, but Primus E. King, preacher and barber of

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[38] *Official and Statistical Register of Georgia*, 1938-1943, 656.
[39] 321 U. S. 649.
[40] *Atlanta Constitution*, June 4, 1944; *Columbus Ledger Enquirer*, June 1-30, 1944.

Columbus brought suit a month after the primary for $5,000 damages against the Muscogee County democratic executive committee for the alleged violation of his civil rights. He claimed he was refused a ballot in the primary solely because of race and color, and the suit was to ascertain whether the Supreme Court decision in *Smith* vs. *Allwright* would apply to the white primaries in Georgia.[41]

The reaction of Georgians to the Supreme Court decision and the suit against the Muscogee County committee has been divided. A majority agree with Governor Arnall that the Georgia white primary is still outside of legislation and unaffected; others, however, believe that too much of the primary has been placed under state legislation and they advocate the repeal of all laws and leave it entirely under party rules. A smaller group whose opinions are probably too liberal for the whole state have advocated the enactment of a law by the general assembly to permit the Democratic Negroes of the state the privilege of voting in the primary. The advocacy of such a step within itself is revolutionary and indicates the liberal trend in the state which if carefully and tactfully supervised will in time remove from Georgia politics the greatest political plank of the demagogues—white supremacy.

An innovation of the primary in Georgia was the presidential primary which was first used in 1912.[42] Prior to then Georgians were not given an opportunity to express their choice for a presidential nominee, for delegates to the national conventions were elected by the state convention whose delegates in turn were selected in primaries or mass meeetings. The qualifications, rules and regulations for governing as well as the time for holding the optional presidential primary were made by the state sub-committee and later approved without change by the state committee. The tickets and ballots used, however, were prepared by the state committee, and any candidate receiving a plurality of county unit votes in the state was given the unani-

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41 *Columbus Ledger Enquirer,* August 25, 1944.

42 The optional primary law of 1908 provided for a presidential primary. *Georgia Laws,* 1908, 55.

mous vote of the state in the national convention.[43] As in statewide primaries, candidates were provided with an opportunity to contest the nomination. All returns from the various county committees were consolidated by the state committee which declared the results. Then the county committees selected delegates on a county unit basis to a state convention from among the friends and supporters of the successful presidential candidate. The state convention confirms the results of the primary and selects delegates and alternates from among the members of the state convention to the national convention.

Only three presidential primaries have been held in Georgia since 1912,[44] and there have been few major changes and additions to the rules and regulations governing them. The chief criticism against the presidential primary has been that the optional feature gives too much power to the state committee and governor. They decide whether a primary should be held and if they oppose the incumbent Democratic president or an outstater they can make any requirements they wish to embarrass or prevent a candidate from qualifying. In 1936 Governor Talmadge would not give his consent for the state committee to announce a primary until the counties began holding county presidential primaries and the Georgia national congressmen and senators organized and appealed directly to the county committees. Then the assessment fee was fixed at $10,000.[45] Although several factions placed undue pressure upon the state committee to call a presidential primary in 1940, it was never called before Governor Rivers never gave his consent to the state committee.[46] Consequently the optional feature has made the presidential primary a political football among certain political leaders rather than expressed the wishes of the party. This has also been true of the entry fee requirement which has been exorbitant at times. The convention has also been criticized because certain factions have at times united and attempted to

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[43] A candidate who received a plurality of popular votes in a county also received the county unit votes, and whoever received a plurality of the county unit votes in the state was entitled to the support of the state's delegates to the national convention. If candidates tied in popular votes within a county, the county unit votes were divided. Rules and Regulations of State Committee, 1920, 1924, and 1932.

disregard the primary by ignoring the wishes of a plurality of the voters. Yet the trend in Georgia has been to use the presidential primary whenever the opportunity was made possible. What the future holds in store will depend upon the effectiveness of the primary in remedying the major defects and selecting a candidate in 1948 as well as how intelligently Georgians assume their responsibilities as citizens.

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[44] A presidential primary was held in 1920, 1924, and 1932.
[45] *Atlanta Constitution,* December 6, 1935-May 16, 1936.
[46] *Atlanta Journal,* January 31-February 4, 1940.

Vita

Lynwood Mathis Holland was born in Bronwood, Georgia, March 31, 1905. He attended the Bronwood Public School and Dawson High School from which he graduated in 1922. In the fall of 1922 he entered Emory University and dropped out to work at the end of his sophomore year. He taught eight years in the public school systems of Terrell and Troup counties. He returned to Emory University and received his A.B. degree in 1932 and A.M. degree in 1933. He was principal of Dawson High School in 1933-37, and Instructor in Social Science in the University of Georgia System, 1937-40. Since September, 1940, he has been enrolled in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois and an assistant in the Political Science Department, except for two years, 1942-44, in army service. He is the author of "Zoning Extended in Georgia," which appeared in *National Municipal Review*, July, 1942. He supervised and assisted in writing the history of Gulfport Field, Mississippi, for the Historical Division of the Air Corps Technical Training Commany.